

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 195-75

Approved For Release 2001/08/21 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000300010097-3

19 DECEMBER 1975

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BRIEF #195

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 195-75.4

1. LEBANON: ARMED CLASHES IN THE BEIRUT SUBURBS AND IN THE TRIPOLI-ZAGHARTA AREA CONTINUE AND THREATEN TO DRAW THE LARGE CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM MILITIAS INTO ANOTHER ROUND OF SUSTAINED FIGHTING.4

LEBANESE SECURITY FORCES HAVE FAILED TO CONTAIN CLASHES SOUTHEAST OF THE CAPITAL INVOLVING CHRISTIANS ALLIED WITH INTERIOR MINISTER SHAMUN AND MUSLIMS ALLIED WITH PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER KAMAL JUMBLATT. TROUBLE IN THIS AREA BEGAN EARLY IN THE WEEK WHEN CHRISTIANS ATTACKED THE MUSLIM VILLAGE OF SIBNAY IN AN ATTEMPT TO ROUT OUT SNIPERS FIRING ON NEARBY CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES. FIGHTING BETWEEN MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN FACTIONS IN TRIPOLI ON THURSDAY REPORTEDLY INVOLVED TANKS AND ARMORED VEHICLES TAKEN FROM THE LEBANESE SECURITY FORCES.4

4 ALTHOUGH THE CEASE-FIRE IS STILL HOLDING IN THE CENTRAL
 3 PART OF BEIRUT AND IN THE HOTEL DISTRICT, TENSIONS ELSEWHERE
 2 COULD PROMPT CHRISTIAN PHALANGISTS AND RADICAL LEFTISTS HEADED
 1 BY IBRAHIM QULAYLAT TO RESUME THEIR BATTLE FOR CONTROL OF THE

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SEAFRONT AREA. EARLIER THIS WEEK, THE TWO SIDES TURNED OVER THEIR RESPECTIVE STRONGHOLDS TO THE SECURITY FORCES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE. NEVERTHELESS, BOTH FACTIONS STILL HAVE ARMED MEN IN THE AREA AND COULD EASILY RETAKE THEIR POSITIONS.4

PRESIDENT FRANJIYAH'S DENUNCIATION OF THE PALESTINIANS IN A CABINET MEETING WEDNESDAY HAS ALMOST CERTAINLY ADDED TO THE TENSIONS. FRANJIYAH ACCUSED THE PALESTINIANS OF BREAKING THEIR AGREEMENT TO STAY OUT OF LEBANON'S INTERNAL POLITICS AND OF FAVORING "ONE SIDE OVER ANOTHER."4

FRANJIYAH'S REMARKS BEFORE THE CABINET DREW A SHARP REBUTTAL FROM PRIME MINISTER KARAMI, WHO PRAISED THE PALESTINIANS FOR THEIR COOPERATION IN ARRANGING THE LATEST CEASE-FIRE. ANOTHER OPEN RIFT BETWEEN THE MUSLIM PRIME MINISTER AND THE CHRISTIAN PRESIDENT WOULD SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE THE CURRENT TRUCE AND WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY PREVENT ANY PROGRESS TOWARD A POLITICAL SOLUTION.4

THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BEIRUT HAS PROMPTED A CALL

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FROM ARAB LEAGUE SECRETARY GENERAL MAHMUD RIYAD FOR ANOTHER
SPECIAL CONFERENCE OF ARAB STATES. AN EARLIER ARAB
LEAGUE MEETING ON LEBANON, HASTILY CONVENED IN OCTOBER, WAS BOYCOTTED BY
SYRIA AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES. THIS LATEST CALL
APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SPONSORED BY EGYPT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

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3. INDIA: PRIME MINISTER GANDHI IS CONSIDERING ESTABLISHMENT OF
 A PRESIDENTIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. SHE IS ALSO WEIGHING
 CHANGES THAT ARE LESS RADICAL BUT WOULD WEAKEN THE ABILITY OF THE
 COURTS TO CHALLENGE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS.

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IF SHE DECIDES IN FAVOR OF A PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM, GANDHI WILL HAVE HER CONGRESS PARTY'S HEAVY MAJORITY IN PARLIMENT ENACT THE NECESSARY CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WHEN IT CONVENES NEXT MONTH. SHE MIGHT WELL HAVE PARLIAMENT CONVERT ITSELF INTO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR THIS PURPOSE. GANDHI, OF COURSE, WOULD ASSUME THE PRESIDENCY HERSELF. SHE MIGHT THEN CALL NEW LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS--AND PERHAPS A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION--IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE PUBLIC'S STAMP OF APPROVAL.4

GANDHI MIGHT DECIDE IN FAVOR OF REVAMPING THE CONSTITUTION IN A WAY THAT WOULD LEAVE THE PRESENT SYSTEM INTACT BUT WOULD WEAKEN THE JUDICIARY. STATEMENTS EARLIER THIS MONTH BY GANDHI AND BY MINISTER OF LAW GOKHALE SEEMED TO POINT TO CHANGES ALONG THESE LINES.4

THE JUDICIARY IS THE ONLY INSTITUTION STILL ABLE TO IMPEDE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS UNDER THE STATE OF EMERGENCY THAT HAS BEEN IN FORCE SINCE LAST JUNE. IN RECENT WEEKS, FOR EXAMPLE, VARIOUS COURTS HAVE ATTEMPTED TO CHALLENGE THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CAN SUSPEND CIVIL LIBERTIES OF HAVE PARLIAMENT ENACT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

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4. MOZAMBIQUE: LOYAL FORCES AND DISSIDENT TROOPS HAVE CLASHED FOR THE SECOND NIGHT IN LOURENCO MARQUES.4

INFORMATION ON THE DISORDERS IS SKETCHY. ACCORDING TO SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS REPORTS, THE FIGHTING STARTED WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON WHEN ABOUT 400 DISSIDENT TROOPS AND POLICE MUTINIED AND ATTACKED KEY INSTALLATIONS IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE CITY. GOVERNMENT FORCES WERE REPORTED TO HAVE RESTORED ORDER BY THURSDAY, BUT FIGHTING HAS RESUMED AND APPARENTLY SPREAD TO SLUMS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CITY.4

THE DISSIDENTS REPORTEDLY WERE REACTING AGAINST A CRACKDOWN ORDERED LAST WEEKEND BY PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL ON CORRUPTION AND POLITICAL AGITATION IN THE POLICE AND THE ARMY.4

ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN NO PREVIOUS OVERT SIGNS OF OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT FROM WITHIN THE MILITARY OR POLICE, SOME DISCONTENT WITH THE REGIME'S TIGHT CONTROL OVER SOCIETY AND WITH THE DECLINING ECONOMY HAS SURFACED SINCE MOZAMBIQUE BECAME INDEPENDENT LAST JUNE. IN OCTOBER, WORKERS DISSATISFIED WITH HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT STAGED A BRIEF RIOT IN THE PORT CITY OF BEIRA. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2, IMPDET.4

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 195875.Y

1. CUBA: THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S FIRST CONGRESS HAS PRODUCED NO SURPRISES SO FAR.Y

PARTY SECOND SECRETARY RAUL CASTRO DELIVERED THE OPENING ADDRESS ON DECEMBER 17 BUT DID LITTLE MORE THAN SET THE STAGE FOR THE READING OF THE LENGTHY MAIN REPORT BY HIS BROTHER, FIRST SECRETARY FIDEL CASTRO. FIDEL BEGAN THE READING ON DECEMBER 17 (IN THE MORNING) AND FINISHED AT ABOUT NOON ON DECEMBER 18.Y

SO FAR, NO NEW TRENDS IN CUBAN POLICIES HAVE EMERGED. CASTRO IS EXPECTED TO DELIVER THE CLOSING ADDRESS ON DECEMBER 22, AT WHICH TIME HE MAY TELL THE CUBAN PEOPLE ABOUT HAVANA'S CONSIDERABLE INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA. (CONFIDENTIAL)Y

2.//CHILE: THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS PREPARING TO ABANDON ITS TACIT TRUCE WITH THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT. THE PARTY'S LEADER, FORMER PRESIDENT EDUARDO FREI, WILL SHORTLY DISTRIBUTE A POLITICAL PAMPHLET ATTACKING THE GOVERNMENT.//Y

//WHAT THE ANTICIPATED FREI BLAST WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY DO IS TO REINFORCE THE EXISTING "SIEGE" MENTALITY AND STRENGTHEN PRESIDENT

SECRET NOFORN

PINOCHET'S DETERMINATION TO ENFORCE THE MORATORIUM ON POLITICS VIGOROUSLY. IF PINOCHET RESPONDS TRUE TO FORM, HE IS LIKELY TO ENGENDER WIDESPREAD CRITICISM FROM THE US AND WESTERN EUROPE, WHERE FREI IS HIGHLY REGARDED.//4

//FREI, WHOSE PARTY WAS DECLARED IN "RECESS" AFTER THE COUP IN SEPTEMBER 1973, HAS REFRAINED FROM OPEN POLEMICS IN ORDER TO AVOID PROSCRIPTION OF THE PARTY AND HIS OWN EXPULSION FROM THE COUNTRY. THE PRINCIPAL MOTIVATION BEHIND FREI'S DECISION TO SPEAK OUT NOW IS HIS GROWING FEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY INDEED SUCCEED IN DESTROYING THE PARTY ALTOGETHER. FREI WAS ALSO STUNG BY THE RECENT WAVE OF PUBLICITY ON REPORTS OF CIA SUPPORT FOR PAST CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS--A BLOW TO HIS PRESTIGE THAT PROBABLY COMPELLED HIM TO ABANDON A PASSIVE STAND AND RISK A CLASH WITH THE REGIME.//4

//FREI AND HIS COLLEAGUES ALSO APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT PINOCHET'S TROUBLES ARE MOUNTING. THEY CITE THE STAGNATING ECONOMY, THE REGIME'S WORSENING RELATIONS WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, PINOCHET'S PROBLEMS WITH SOME OF HIS FELLOW JUNTA MEMBERS, AND THE BAD LIGHT IN WHICH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS THINK CHILE IS HELD ABROAD. WHATEVER FOUNDATION

SECRET NOFORN

IN FACT THERE IS FOR THESE VIEWS, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS APPEAR TO HAVE CONCLUDED THAT FREI HAS MORE TO GAIN BY CHALLENGING THE GOVERNMENT THAN BY LETTING HIS PARTY CONTINUE TO ATROPHY. WHAT FREI AND HIS COLLEAGUES PROBABLY HOPE FOR ULTIMATELY IS TO INDUCE PINOCHET'S MILITARY CRITICS TO OUST HIM AND ESTABLISH A MODERATE GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD SEEK COOPERATION FROM THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC FORMS.//Y

//THERE ARE DISCERNIBLE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE MILITARY OVER PINOCHET'S STYLE AND HIS TENDENCY TO ACT UNILATERALLY WITHOUT CONSULTING THE JUNTA. WE SEE NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST,--HOWEVER, THAT ANYONE HAS SUFFICIENT SUPPORT TO CHALLENGE HIM AT THIS TIME. INDEED, MOST INDICATIONS SUGGEST THAT THE ARMED SERVICES ARE UNITED BEHIND PINOCHET AND ARE WILLING TO ENDURE THE HIGH COST OF WHAT THEY SEE AS NECESSARY SACRIFICES TO RESTORE THE CHILEAN ECONOMY AND PUT THE COUNTRY ON A PERMANENT ANTI-MARXIST FOOTING.//Y

//THE PRESIDENT HAS THE OPTION OF SIDESTEPPING THE ISSUE. IF PINOCHET MOVES AGAINST CHILE'S LARGEST DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HOWEVER, THE COUNTRY'S ISOLATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE WILL DEEPEN.

SECRET NOFORN

MAKING ITS ECONOMIC RECOVERY EVEN MORE DOUBTFUL. IN THIS EVENT, PINOCHET MAY BE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR SERIOUS DISCONTENT WITH HIS LEADERSHIP--WHICH OVER THE LONG RUN COULD SET IN MOTION A CHAIN OF EVENTS THAT MIGHT ENCOURAGE INTERNATIONAL MILITARY OPPOSITION AND THREATEN HIS POSITION. (SECRET NOFORN)//Y

3. //ARGENTINA: A REBELLION ON DECEMBER 16 BY AIR FORCE OFFICERS HAS REPORTEDLY RESULTED IN THE REPLACEMENT OF THE AIR FORCE COMMANDER IN CHIEF, GENERAL FAUTARIO. HE HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED BY GENERAL ORLANDO RAMON AGOSTI, REPORTEDLY A STAUNCH ANTI-PERONIST.//Y

//THE OFFICERS, LED BY GENERAL ORLANDO CAPPELLINI, SEIZED FAUTARIO AND OTHERS AND HELD THEM FOR SEVERAL HOURS. THE REBELLIOUS OFFICERS SAID THEIR ACTION WAS MOTIVATED BY DISSATISFACTION OVER RECENT "ARBITRARY" PROMOTIONS AND TRANSFERS. FAUTARIO HAS NEVER BEEN PARTICULARLY POPULAR AMONG HIS SUBORDINATES; MOREOVER, SOME WHO CONSIDERED HIM TOO PRO-PERONIST MAY HAVE THOUGHT THIS AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN IN AN EFFORT AGAINST HIM.//Y

//CAPPELLINI'S MOVE WAS PROBABLY PART OF A RUNNING FEUD HE HAD HAD WITH HIS COMMANDER. FAUTARIO REPORTEDLY HAD LEARNED THAT

SECRET NOFORN

CAPPELLINI WAS INVOLVED IN COUP PLOTTING AND TRIED TO FORCE HIM TO RETIRE OR ACCEPT AN UNDESIRABLY OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENT.//Y

//IN AN EFFORT TO JUSTIFY AND GAIN SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORT, THE REBELLIOUS OFFICERS ISSUED COMMUNIQUE SUURGING OTHER MILITARY SERVICES TO JOIN THEM IN SEEKING A "NEW CHRISTIAN MORALITY" INSTEAD OF A DISCREDITED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. WE HAVE SEEN NO SIGN THAT NAVY OR ARMY OFFICERS RESPONDED IN ANY WAY.//Y

//THE REBELLIOUS OFFICERS APPARENTLY PLANNED THEIR MOVE TO COINCIDE WITH THE ABSENCE FROM THE COUNTRY OF THE ARMY COMMANDER IN CHIEF, GENERAL VIDELA, WHO IS SAID TO OPPOSE A MILITARY MOVE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME. THEY HOPED THAT WITH VIDELA GONE, THEY COULD PERSUADE THE OTHER SERVICES TO BACK--OR AT LEAST NOT OPPOSE-- THEIR EFFORT.//Y

//IF THE NEW COMMANDER IS INDEED ANTI-PERONIST, HIS ACCESSION MAY SPEED THE DAY WHEN THE THREE ARMED SERVICES CAN AGREE ON A MEANS TO OUST THE DISCREDITED REGIME. (SECRET NOFORN)// E-2 IMPDET.H

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 1195-75. 4

1. SOUTH KOREA: THE REMOVAL OF PRIME MINISTER KIM CHONG-PIL IN A CABINET RESHUFFLE ON FRIDAY ELIMINATES A MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURE WHO PRESIDENT PAK MAY REGARD AS A POTENTIAL RIVAL.

ONE OF THE FEW POLITICIANS LEFT IN SOUTH KOREA WITH SUBSTANTIAL INDEPENDENT STATURE AND POPULARITY, KIM HAD BEEN PRIME MINISTER SINCE 1971. KIM CITED POOR HEALTH AS HIS REASON FOR STEPPING DOWN, BUT THE MOVE WAS OBVIOUSLY ORDERED BY PAK. ALTHOUGH HE WAS THE CHIEF ARCHITECT OF THE 1961 COUP THAT PUT PAK IN POWER, AND HAS BEEN A FAITHFUL EXECUTOR OF PAK'S POLICIES, KIM APPARENTLY REGARDED HIMSELF AS A LOGICAL PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSOR.

KIM WAS REPLACED BY CHOE KYU-HA, WHO HAS BEEN PAK'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. UNLIKE KIM, CHOE HAS NO INDEPENDENT STATURE. NINE OTHER CABINET MINISTERS, INCLUDING THE FOREIGN MINISTER, WERE REPLACED. MOST OF THE NEW MINISTERS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE UNIMPRESSIVE CHOE, APPEAR TO BE TECHNICALLY PROFICIENT, AND NONE ARE IMPORTANT POLITICAL FIGURES IN THEIR OWN

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RIGHT.

THE CABINET CHANGE MEANS A FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF PAK'S CONTROL OVER THE GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES, RATHER THAN ANY CHANGE IN POLICY. IN ADDITION TO CHOE, TWO OTHER SENIOR PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANTS, ALONG WITH SEVERAL LOYAL ASSEMBLYMEN, WERE MOVED INTO THE CABINET. THE CABINET RESHUFFLE APPARENTLY HAD BEEN PLANNED BY PAK FOR SOME TIME, AND THE TIMEING OF THE MOVE SUGGESTS PAK WANTED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE QUIET PERIOD FOLLOWING THE CLOSE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ON THURSDAY.

KIM'S REMOVAL MAY BE FOLLOWED BY MOVES AGAINST OTHERS WHO COULD EMERGE AS RIVALS TO PAK. CHONG IL-KWON, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD BE REMOVED AS SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WHEN PAK REAPPOINTS SOME NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEMBERS IN MARCH. {CONFIDENTIAL}

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 195-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY HEAD SOARES IS ON A WEEK-LONG TOUR OF EUROPEAN CAPITALS TO EXPLAIN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. SOARES' MISSION IS PARTISAN RATHER THAN OFFICIAL, BUT ANY AID COMMITMENTS HE CAN PRODUCE WILL ENHANCE THE SOCIALISTS' POPULARITY IN THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS PROMISED FOR THIS SPRING.4

SOARES HAS EMPHASIZED IN HIS TALKS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS THAT ALTHOUGH THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN PORTUGAL IS STABILIZING, THE COUNTRY URGENTLY NEEDS ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. PORTUGAL'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES ARE EXPECTED TO RUN OUT EARLY NEXT YEAR. THE NATION'S GOLD RESERVES, VALUED AT ABOUT \$4 BILLION AT THE PRESENT RATE, WERE EXPECTED TO FORESTALL THE CRISIS, BUT GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO SELL OR BORROW AGAINST THE GOLD HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL, IN LARGE PART BECAUSE OF THE GOLD MARKET'S CURRENT INSTABILITY AND THE RELUCTANCE OF BANKERS TO DEAL IN LARGE QUANTITIES OF GOLD.4

2 THE AZEVEDO GOVERNMENT EXPECTS TO APPROVE THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF AUSTERITY MEASURE-INCLUDING A WAGE FREEZE AND PRICE

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AND TAX INCREASES-AT FRIDAYS' CABINET SESSION. LINKED TO THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO STOP THE DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF THE ECONOMY IS AN UNPUBLICIZED DECREE ISSUED EARLIER THIS MONTH THAT GIVES THE FINANCE MINISTER AUTHORITY TO REDUCE OR SUSPEND NEARLY ALL PREVIOUSLY BUDGETED GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES. THIS SHOULD HELP REDUCE THE BUDGET DEFICIT, NOW RUNNING AT 10 PERCENT OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, AND COULD ALSO HELP DAMPEN THE INFLATIONARY SURGE.4

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS BELIEVE THEY HAVE GAINED SUFFICIENT STRENGTH SINCE LAST MONTH'S PARATROOP UPRISING TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THEIR AUSTERITY PROGRAM. THEY FEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE MORE SEVERE RESTRICTIONS THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED IF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS NOT FORTHCOMING MIGHT SET OFF POPULAR PROTESTS, WHICH COULD PROVIDE THE COMMUNISTS WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO STAGE A POLITICAL 4COMEBACK.4

3 WHILE THE CABINET IS CONCENTRATING ON THE ECONOMY, MILITARY 2LEADERS HAVE TURNED THEIR ATTENTION TO RENEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT 1WITH THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES OVER THE DIVISION OF GOVERNMENT

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RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN MILITARY OFFICERS AND CIVILIAN POLITICIANS.
 THE ARMED FORCES PRESENTED A DRAFT REVISION TO THE PARTIES
 ON WEDNESDAY. THE PARTIES HAVE UNTIL DECEMBER 30 TO SUBMIT
 THEIR RESPONSES AND PROPOSALS FOR A NEW PACT. EARLY NEXT YEAR,
 A FIVE-MAN DELEGATION FROM THE ALL-MILITARY REVOLUTIONARY
 COUNCIL WILL DISCUSS THE PROPOSALS WITH EACH PARTY AND DRAW UP
 A FINAL DOCUMENT.4

THE FIVE-MAN DELEGATION IS WEIGHTED IN FAVOR OF THOSE
 OFFICERS WHO ARE WILLING TO REDUCE THE MILITARY ROLE IN NATIONAL
 POLITICAL LIFE BUT WHO DO NOT WANT TO WITHDRAW FROM THE GOVERNMENT
 ALTOGETHER. ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP, LISBON REGION
 COMMANDER LOURENCO, SAID RECENTLY THAT THE MILITARY SHOULD QUIT
 POLITICS AT THE "RIGHT MOMENT" BUT THAT THIS WOULD NOT OCCUR
 IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING. {CON-
 FIDENTIAL}4

2. WARSAW PACT: THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE WARSAW PACT
 COUNTRIES ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE TUESDAY TO CAP THEIR FIRST GATHERING
 SINCE 1973.4

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THE LAST ITEM OF THE SEVE-POINT DOCUMENT SEEMS TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE COMPATIBILITY OF DETENTE WITH SUCH VENTURES AS SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE POPULAR MOVEMENT IN ANGOLA. THE COMMUNIQUE SAYS ONLY THAT THE MINISTERS EXCHANGED VIEWS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. THE TEXT FOLLOWS, HOWEVER, WITH A STATEMENT THAT THE PARTICIPANTS "FIRMLY SUPPORT" THE SO-CALLED ANGOLAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

THIS JUXTAPOSITION SUGGESTS THAT THE SOVIETS TRIED, AND FAILED, TO GET ROMANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MACOVESCU TO AGREE TO A GENERAL PROPOSITION THAT DETENTE AND SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ARE COMPATIBLE, ALTHOUGH HE DID ACCEPT THE COMMUNIQUE'S FORMULATION ON SUPPORT FOR THE POPULAR MOVEMENT.

THE LACK OF EVEN AN OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO CHINA CAN ALSO BE ATTRIBUTED TO MACOVESCU'S PRESENCE.

THE CITATION OF ANGOLA IN THE COMMUNIQUE IS ANOTHER SIGN OF THE IMPORTANCE THAT MOSCOW IS ATTACHING TO THE SITUATION THERE. IT IS PROBABLY MEANT AS A RIPOSTE TO WARNINGS FROM THE US THAT SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA THREATENS DETENTE.

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THE COMMUNIQUE GENERALLY STICKS TO ESTABLISHED SOVIET POSITIONS ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES, INCLUDING THE CURRENT LINE THAT THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION MUST PARTICIPATE IN THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON AN EQUAL BASIS "FROM THE START." IT BREAKS SOME NEW GROUND IN STATING THAT THE UN "MUST" PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN SETTLING THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.Y

THIS WORDING MAY SET THE STAGE FOR THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE OPENING JANUARY 12, AND MAY BE MOSCOW'S WAY OF PLACING ITSELF IN LINE WITH THE SYRIANS. THE SOVIETS ALSO HAVE SHOWN INTEREST IN USING THE COUNCIL DEBATE TO REFOCUS ATTENTION ON THE GENEVA TALKS.Y

THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS' TALKS. THE COMMUNIQUE IS LESS CRITICAL OF THE WEST THAN WAS GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AT THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS LAST WEEK. IT NOTES THAT THE MINISTERS EXPECT THE OTHER SIGNATORIES TO ACT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENT, AND MAY BE ALLUDING TO BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL FOR "EUROPEAN" ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCES IN ITS CALL FOR STEPS GIVING SPECIFIC EXPRESSION TO THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT.Y

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THE COMMUNIQUE REFERS APPROVINGLY, BUT UNCOMPROMISINGLY, TO THE EAST-WEST FORCE REDUCTIONS NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. IT DOES NOT CITE THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS AT GENEVA. {CONFIDENTIAL}Y

3. ROMANIA: CAMBODIAN PRINCE SIHANOUK'S VISIT TO ROMANIA LAST WEEK WAS LONG ON ATMOSPHERICS BUT SHORT ON SUBSTANCE. THE TWO MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS--FROM THE ROMANIAN VIEWPOINT--WERE THE AGREEMENT FOR BUCHAREST TO OPEN AN EMBASSY IN PHNOM PENH AND PUBLIC CAMBODIAN ENDORSEMENT OF OBSERVER STATUS FOR ROMANIA AT THE NONALIGNED SUMMIT IN COLOMBO NEXT YEAR.Y

NO NEW ACCORDS WERE SIGNED. THIS MAY REFLECT SIHANOUK'S LIMITED MANDATE WHICH DID NOT EVEN PERMIT HIM TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO CEAUSESCU FOR A RETURN VISIT. SIHANOUK DID, HOWEVER, HOLD PRIVATE TALKS WITH CEAUSESCU, PREMIER MANESCU, AND PARTY SECRETARY UGLAR. SIHANOUK'S PUBLIC RHETORIC WAS SUBDUED AND STOOD IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE ANTI-AMERICAN

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PRONOUNCEMENTS MADE BY NORTH VIETNAM'S LE DUAN DURING HIS VISIT TO BUCHAREST LAST MONTH.4

THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE NOTES THAT THE "EXPERIENCE OF SOCIALIST ROMANIA IS FOLLOWED WITH PARTICULAR INTEREST BY THOSE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE OPTED FOR THE FLOURISHING OF THEIR ECONOMIC-SOCIAL INDEPENDENCE." THIS LANGUAGE CLEARLY IMPLIES THE EXISTENCE OF A ROMANIAN MODEL FOR SOCIALISM AND IS A NEW TWIST TO BUCHAREST'S COMMUNIQUE REPERTOIRE. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

4. POLAND: A REUTERS REPORT FROM WARSAW ON TUESDAY CLAIMS THAT 59 INTELLECTUALS HAVE SIGNED A MANIFESTO PROTESTING PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE POLISH CONSTITUTION AND CALLING FOR INCREASED CIVIL LIBERTIES AND A MORE INDEPENDENT ROLE FOR THE TRADE UNIONS. ONE 40F THE SIGNERS OF THE DOCUMENT SAYS IT WAS SENT TO 2A NUMBER OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS.4

2 THE MANIFESTO IS THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF 1 INCREASED POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY A SMALL GROUP OF

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INTELLECTUALS, MANY OF WHOM WERE INVOLVED IN THE STUDENT DISTURBANCES OF 1968. LAST MONTH A GROUP OF DISSIDENTS SENT A MEMORANDUM TO PARTY LEADER GIEREK AND PREMIER JAROSZEWICZ DEMANDING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND FREEDOMS OF ASSEMBLY AND RELIGION. THE SAME PEOPLE WERE PROBABLY RESPONSIBLE FOR AN OPEN LETTER CONGRATULATING SOVIET DISSIDENT ANDREI SAKHAROV ON HIS NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.4

THE DISSIDENTS HAVE BEEN CAREFUL TO CONFINE THEMSELVES TO PETITIONING AND SIMILAR ACTIONS THAT ARE TECHNICALLY NOT ILLEGAL. THE POLICE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE WATCHING THE GROUP AND THAT A FALSE STEP COULD FINISH THEM.4

INCREASED ACTIVITY BY DISSIDENTS COULD BE EMBARRASSING BUT NOT DANGEROUS TO GIEREK. DISCONTENT AMONG WORKERS OVER SHORTAGES OF CONSUMER GOODS IS A MUCH MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, AND IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE INTELLECTUALS COULD INTEREST THE

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WORKERS IN THEIR CAUSE. {SECRET}Y

5. BULGARIA: IN CONTRAST TO SCALED-DOWN SOVIET ECONOMIC GOALS FOR NEXT YEAR, THERE WILL BE VIRTUALLY NO SLOWDOWN IN BULGARIAN GROWTH, ACCORDING TO THE AMBITIOUS ECONOMIC PROGRAM THAT SOFIA ANNOUNCED ON DECEMBER 4.Y

NEXT TO ROMANIA, BULGARIA'S ANNUAL ECONOMIC GROWTH RATE IS THE HIGHEST IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND THE REGIME HAS NOT LOWERED ITS SIGHTS FOR 1976. TARGETS IN ALMOST ALL SECTORS REMAIN HIGH, AND SOME HAVE INCREASED SLIGHTLY OVER 1975. AGRICULTURE IS THE MAIN EXCEPTION; LAST YEAR'S AMBITIOUS GOAL OF A 9.3 PERCENT GROWTH HAS BEEN TRIMMED TO A RISE OF ONLY 5 PERCENT. THE GROWTH RATE OF PUBLIC SERVICES WILL ALSO DROP SLIGHTLY NEXT YEAR.Y

DESPITE THIS MODEST CUTBACK, THE 1976 OUTLOOK FOR CONSUMERS IS FAVORABLE, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROMISED TO MAKE MORE GOODS AVAILABLE. THE BUL-

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GARIAN PUBLIC HAS EXPERIENCED A SLOW BUT STEADY
 RISE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING FOR SEVERAL YEARS,
 AND SOFIA HAS REAFFIRMED ITS COMMITMENT TO CON-
 CENTRATE ON "THE FURTHER SATISFACTION OF THE PEOP-
 LE'S GROWING NEEDS." THERE WILL PROBABLY BE SOME
 RISE IN PRICES FOR CONSUMER GOODS, HOWEVER, AS
 PREMIER TODOROV SUGGESTED IN A SPEECH LAST AUGUST.

TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS, THE REGIME IS STRESSING
 "LABOR PRODUCTIVITY" COUPLED WITH "LABOR DISCIPLINE."
 AN INTENSE CAMPAIGN AGAINST "IDLERS" AND MARGINAL
 WORKERS BEGAN LAST FEBRUARY AND HAS BEEN A MAINSTAY
 IN THE DRIVE TO WHIP UP POPULAR ENTHUSIASM FOR
 OVERFULFILLMENT OF THE PLAN BEFORE THE PARTY CON-
 GRESS NEXT MARCH. PREMIER TODOROV, IN HIS SPEECH
 INTRODUCING THE 1976 PLAN, ASSERTED THAT PRACTI-
 CALLY ALL OF THE 1976 GROWTH IN INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT
 AND IN AGRICULTURE MUST COME FROM INCREASED LABOR
 PRODUCTIVITY. HE DECLARED THAT STRENGTHENING OF

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LABOR DISCIPLINE IS AN "IMMEDIATE OBLIGATION," AND ADDED THAT VIOLATORS OF WORKING DISCIPLINE WILL BE DENIED THOSE PRIVILEGES AND BENEFITS GIVEN CONSCIENTIOUS WORKERS. THE REGIME HAS ALSO CALLED FOR MORE SHIFT WORK, MODERNIZATION, AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN NEW EQUIPMENT TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY.

TODOROV REPORTED THAT THE REGIME HAD DEVELOPED A "NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM," WHICH FEATURES A GREATER ROLE FOR THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE 1976 PLAN ESTABLISHES OBLIGATORY PRODUCTION INDEXES ON A TERRITORIAL BASIS. ALTHOUGH TODOROV PROVIDED FEW DETAILS, THESE INDEXES ARE PROBABLY DESIGNED TO MINIMIZE UNEVEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY. HE ADDED THAT SOFIA WILL DEMAND UNCONDITIONAL IMPLEMENTATION.

2 ACCORDING TO PRELIMINARY ESTIMATES, ALL ECONOMIC SECTORS EXCEPT AGRICULTURE MET OR OVERFUL-

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FILLED THEIR ESTABLISHED QUOTAS FOR 1975. SOFIA
 WILL PROBABLY REPEAT THIS SUCCESSFUL PERFORMANCE
 IN 1976, BUT WILL STILL DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE SO-
 VIETS, ESPECIALLY FOR FUELS AND MATERIALS. DE-
 SPITE MOSCOW'S VEILED WARNINGS THAT ITS ALLIES MUST
 EITHER WEAN THEMSELVES FROM SUCH DEPENDENCE OR SHARE
 DEVELOPMENT COSTS, BULGARIA WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE
 TO RECEIVE PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT NOT ACCORDED
 OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE
 SOVIETS MAY HAVE OFFERED BULGARIA TECHNICAL ASSIST-
 ANCE UNDER TERMS OF AN AGREEMENT THAT CALLS FOR
 MOSCOW TO SUPPLY 120 COMPLETE PLANTS WORTH OVER
 900 MILLION RUBLES FROM 1976-80.4

SOFIA SEEMS RELATIVELY UNCONCERNED ABOUT
 4 HIGHER SOVIET PRICES FOR RAW MATERIALS--PARTICULARLY
 3 FOR OIL--AND MOSCOW HAS REPORTEDLY ASSURED ADEQUATE
 2 SUPPLIES AT LEAST THROUGH 1976. THE BULGARIANS
 1 ALSO VIEW THE SOVIET UNION AS A GUARANTEED MARKET

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FOR THE COUNTRY'S INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT--OFTEN OF INFERIOR QUALITY AND THUS NOT COMPETITIVE IN THE WEST--THOUGH MOSCOW HAS WARNED THAT THE QUALITY OF BULGARIAN EXPORTS MUST IMPROVE. IN RETURN FOR SOVIET HELP, BULGARIA MAY HAVE TO PARTICIPATE IN MORE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN ADDITION, SOFIA WILL PROBABLY SEND MORE BULGARIAN WORKERS TO THE USSR, DESPITE A CHRONIC LABOR SHORTAGE AT HOME. {CONFIDENTIAL}

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